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Ritter, Markus

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338410X12625876281109>

Posted at the Zurich Open Repository and Archive, University of Zurich

ZORA URL: <https://doi.org/10.5167/uzh-47801>

Journal Article

Updated Version

Originally published at:

Ritter, Markus (2009). The Lost Mosque(s) in the Citadel of Qajar Yerevan: Architecture and Identity, Iranian and Local Traditions in the Early 19th Century. *Iran and the Caucasus*, 13(2):239-279.

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1163/157338410X12625876281109>

# The Lost Mosque(s) in the Citadel of Qajar Yerevan: Architecture and Identity, Iranian and Local Traditions in the Early 19th Century\*

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## Abstract

The mosques in the citadel of Yerevan are lost today and almost unknown. Here, the most significant of them is reconstructed from visual and literary sources, documented by unpublished photographs, and related to the early Qajar period under the last Iranian governor Husayn Khān, prior to the Russian conquest of Yerevan in 1827. The second mosque in the citadel is attributed to the Ottoman period; the third one remains uncertain. While the type of the Qajar mosque is compared to earlier buildings in Yerevan, notably the 18th-century Gök Jāmi', stylistic elements are analysed with reference to early 19th-century architecture in Iran and a building at Qazvīn. The interpretation seeks to understand the different references of the Qajar mosque as the construction of a visual statement of local and Iranian identity in a period of change.

## Keywords

Iranian Architecture, Qajar Art, Mosques, Yerevan Citadel, Qajar Rulers in Yerevan, Husayn (Qulī) Khān Sardār

This contribution has a double aim. First, it offers the unearthing of a mosque at Yerevan, built when this part of Armenia and of the South Caucasus was under Iranian rule before it fell to Russia. The building in the citadel appears to have been one of the most pleasing

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\* This article grew from a paper in the conference "The Turkic World, the Caucasus, and Iran: Civilisational Crossroads of Interactions", organised by the *Iran and the Caucasus*, Yerevan/Tsaghkadzor, July 10–13, 2009. An earlier version was presented in the conference "Iranian Identities in the Course of History", organised by the *Societas Iranologica Europaea*, the *Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente* (IsIAO), and the *Università 'La Sapienza'*, Rome, September 21–24, 2005.

monuments of the Iranian period in Yerevan and has considerable art historical and historical significance, but it was destroyed in the early 20th century and subsequently forgotten. Thus, the art historical aim is to offer a reconstruction from sources, a comparative analysis, and an answer to the question of date and patron. It attempts to demonstrate how local models and forms from Iran are joined, while other potential models (among them the second, Ottoman mosque in the citadel, also lost today) found no resonance.

Second, this provides an opportunity to follow up the question how Islamic architecture at the turn to the modern period could (quite literally) construct different identities—in this case, in a South Caucasus region related to Iranian culture. In this perspective, I am not going to look in the arts for a continuous ‘Iranian identity’ however defined. Such a search for an ‘Iranian (Persian) soul’, which attempts to emphasise continuity across wide periods, has been expressed in art historical writing in a way, that relates to the ideas of modern nationalism.<sup>1</sup> Rather, my focus is on one historic period and one genre: religious architecture of the late 18th to early 19th century in what was the territory of Iran under the early Qajar rule. As a time of change, this period under a new dynasty may be of particular relevance to the question.<sup>2</sup>

One may draw from the theoretical discussion by the Egyptologist J. Assmann in his model of a “cultural memory (*kulturelles Gedächtnis*)”, which relates to pre-Christian civilisations but at-

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<sup>1</sup> For example, the persistence of the motifs of pre-Islamic art into the Islamic periods was seen as a re-emergence or continuity of Iranian identity by Godard (1962: 309) with regard to the motif of the *ayvân*: “il n’ya vraiment pas grande difference entre celui de palais de Firûzâbâd et celui de la madrasa timûride de Khargird”, and (ibid.: 335): “les monuments de l’époque sassanide, et [...] ceux de l’époque seldjukide [...] ne diffèrent [...] que par ce que l’islâm y a ajouté”. A similar but somewhat different notion has been voiced earlier by Ernst Herzfeld (see apud Hillenbrand 2005; also Finster 2008; and Grabar 1989, with a critical evaluation of the term *ayvân*).

<sup>2</sup> An initial reflection will be aware of the fact that although “the word ‘identity’ has spread almost epidemically”, it is difficult to comprehend and to define it as a scholarly term (see Assmann/Friese 1998b: 11–13 in the introduction to a collection of essays on ‘identity’). The extended use and the transfer of the term from its original background in psychology to historical studies in the disciplines of anthropology and the social sciences goes back to the 1960s and works of Erik H. Erikson (see the overview of the history of the term by Straub 1998; Assmann 1992: 130). Cf. the definitions in Barnard/Spencer 2004: s.v. (cf. also Frampton 1985; Tzonis/Lefaivre 2003; *Architecture and Identity* 1983., Clarke/Crossley 2000; Sawyer 1999; Helmreich 2002; and Barnes/Melion 1989).

tempts to generalise on cultural history (Assmann 1992: 130–140; idem 1995; cf. also Halbwachs 1967). Postulating that “identity [...] presupposes other identities” and “is based on a participation in common knowledge and common memory mediated by use of a common system of symbols”, he emphasises that the latter are inevitably drawn from and based on the past (Assmann 1992: 130, see also 132–133). Such symbols may include monuments and decoration as “signs [...], which encode common ground” (ibid.: 139). Applying this perspective to architecture (one may consider other genres of the visual arts as well), the past as a source would be constituted by formal models and traditions whose adaptation and rejection can be understood as an expression, i.e. a construction of identity.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

### 1.A ARCHITECTURE AND IDENTITY IN THE EARLY QAJAR IRAN

Historically, the period under the early Qajar rule, 1200–1264 A.H./1785–1848 A.D., is characterised by a renewed political stability and a changed situation after the ruptures of the preceding 18th century: notably the re-emergence of royal rule under the new dynasty from the tribe of the Qajars, formerly based in the North of Iran; a growing power of urban and religious elites; and an intensified dealing with Europe, in which Iran increasingly became the lesser partner.<sup>3</sup>

In religious architecture, the period of the second Qajar ruler, Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh (1212–1250/1797–1834) is remarkable for a new boost in building activity all over the country.<sup>4</sup> This architecture has been characterised by R. Hillenbrand as an “idiosyncratic blend of tradition and innovation” with a conscious “conservatism”.<sup>5</sup> A recent

<sup>3</sup> On the history of the early Qajar period, see the survey by Hambly 1991a, 1991b, now supplemented by several regional and thematic studies; on the 18th century before the Qajar rule, see Perry 1979 and Avery 1991.

<sup>4</sup> For a long time, this period received little scholarly attention. For example, Pope/Ackerman, from the first edition, 1938–39, to the third edition with addenda, 1977, virtually excluded, despite the title, art and architecture after the Safavid period. Since some years, a spreading Qajar-mania has been heading towards the opposite extreme. For a discussion see Ritter 2006: 1–2, 4–7; idem 2008: 44. A recent collection of essays on different regions of 19th-century Islamic art and architecture is provided by Behrens-Abouseif/Vernoit 2006. Aspects focusing on Turkey and Egypt are summarised by Blair/Bloom 1995: 309–314.

<sup>5</sup> Hillenbrand 1983: 352, 365. Another overview of the period is provided by Scarce 1991: 911–914 who has also looked into the matter of palace building and related subjects (eadem 1983; 1992; 2001). Recent Iranian interest has brought to the fore several catalogue works with plans and photographs, notably the series

analysis has emphasised the active and innovative aspects of these phenomena, interpreting them as re-adaptation and distinguishing two main formal groups related to patron circles with different traditions.<sup>6</sup>

Accordingly, in buildings of the Qajar ruling elite, specific mosque and *madrassa* types are re-defined and spread as a standard all over Iran. The courtyard-mosque with four monumental *ayvāns* and a dome-chamber, such as those built by Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh at Tehran and Qazvīn,<sup>7</sup> harks back to a scheme characterising royal Iranian mosques up to the early 17th century. This tradition is adopted and given a new form at the beginning of the 19th century after it had been out of use for nearly two hundred years.<sup>8</sup> The new buildings are distinguished by standardised elements and forms that can be conceived as the royal and official architectural style of the Qajar rule over Iran.<sup>9</sup> Different formal alternatives and variants are apparent in buildings ordered by patrons from the urban elite of merchants and Shi'ite religious-legal scholars ('*ulamā*'). In such buildings as the Masjīd-i Sayyid in Isfahan, models in the city or region are taken up in a discovery of local tradition. They are merged with motifs of royal tradition, creating individual solutions of monumental architecture comparable to, and sometimes even in challenge of, buildings by royal patrons.

In the perspective sketched above, these patterns may be regarded in terms of royal and local identity. Expanding the hypothesis, it might be possible to understand the peculiar formal development in 18th-19th century architecture in Iran with its specific "role

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*Ganjnāma* 1996-2004.

<sup>6</sup> Ritter 2006; 2008. Both studies emphasise the early Qajar architecture as a period of its own, different from the late Qajar architecture in the second half of the 19th century and from the Safavid architecture in the 17th century.

<sup>7</sup> On these buildings see *Ganjnāma* 1996a: 182-191; idem 2004: 144-151; *Masājīd* 1999: 105 f.; Gulrīz 1958: 539-548; for an analysis, see Ritter 2006: 101-118, 731-746, 844-859 and plates.

<sup>8</sup> The last examples are the Masjīd-i Shāh in Isfahan, construction of which was started in 1020/1611, and the mosque at the palace precinct in Farāhābād around 1611. On the first, see the plan in *Ganjnāma* 1996b: 161; Sourdél-Thomine/Spuler 1973: 348-350, fig. 79; Pope/Ackerman 1977: 1185-1189. On the second, see the plan and the description by Kleiss 1982. The later Masjīd-i Ḥakīm in Isfahan was built in 1067-73/1656-62, but its four-*ayvān*-scheme is diminished, and it was not built with royal patronage.

<sup>9</sup> On the early Qajar development of the four-*ayvān*-mosque, see Ritter 2006: 90-93, 207-214; on the *madrassa*, see *ibid.*: 215-216, 276; more on the interpretation of royal tradition *ibid.*: 472-486.

of tradition” (Hillenbrand 1983) and its summary of elements from different traditions (Ritter 2006: 509, 521), following J. Assmann (1992: 125–126, 163–164, 278) as a “codification” and a “canonisation” in a period of change.

#### 1.B TRADITIONS OF ARCHITECTURE IN YEREVAN UNDER MUSLIM RULE

The toponym Yerevan is in Persian equivalent to *Īravān* and, more broadly, to *Chukhūr-i Sa'd*, which denote both the city and the historical Armenian province under late-medieval and pre-modern Iranian rule. The province comprised the Ararat plain and the surrounding mountain chains in the South Caucasus, which form today part of the modern Republic of Armenia.<sup>10</sup> This area is rich in different cultural and religious traditions, and there have been always relations and exchanges with neighbouring regions. It was a part of the mediaeval Christian Armenian kingdom and its subsequent principalities, less affected by Arab domination than the areas further Southwest. A far-reaching rupture was the invasion of Timur at the end of the 14th century. With the settling of different Turkoman tribes, the area came under Islamic rule tied predominantly to Iran well into the 19th century.<sup>11</sup>

Considering the architecture of the Yerevan region, one is inclined to think foremost of the rich and well-researched tradition of mediaeval and post-mediaeval Christian stone architecture, which is exemplified in the city of Yerevan by the 13th-century Church of the Mother of God.<sup>12</sup> Yet, as Yerevan appears to have become a major

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<sup>10</sup> In a perspective related to Armenian historiography, this is considered ‘Eastern Armenia’ while ‘Western Armenia’ denotes the areas of Armenian settlement in adjacent modern Eastern Turkey (see Bournoutian 1992: 10). With ‘the South Caucasus’ I mean the regions, which border Iran and are situated before the geographical barrier of the Caucasus mountains. The often-used term ‘Transcaucasus’ (or ‘Transcaucasia’) relates to the Russian perspective of the 19th century (see Bournoutian 1992: 70, note 1), who nevertheless continues to use it. The counter-designation ‘Transaraxia’, wittfully proposed for the Iranian perspective by Perry 1979: x, has not gained favour in scholarly literature. Father Prof. Zekiyan prefers the term “Subcaucasia” for the same area (see Zekiyan 2008).

<sup>11</sup> See Bournoutian 1992: 1–5 and the summary accounts by Kettenhofen 1998; Bournoutian/Hewson 1998; Canard 1960; Cahen 1960; Faruqi 1995; Mirza Bala 1977.

<sup>12</sup> See in general the conveniently accessible surveys by Thierry 1988 and Cuneo/Breccia Frataocchi 1988. On Christian buildings in Yerevan, see Thierry 1988: 537–538.

city only in the period, as well, of Islamic rule from the 15th century onwards, the most known churches date from this period as well, although Christians became a minority.<sup>13</sup> Muslim architecture, which must have been ordered as well, is far less known and very little of it survives. This may reflect the fact that not much was built on the grand scale, but many buildings vanished only after 1917 under Soviet modernisation and anti-religious policy.

The period of the Islamic rule in Yerevan is in Western literature customary labelled the 'Persian Khanate', a term unknown in Persian sources.<sup>14</sup> In the 15th century, the city became the main centre of the Ararat region under the Qārā Quyūnlū. From the 16th century onwards, it was subject to Safavid and Ottoman claims of supremacy. After a brief Ottoman occupation, Iranian rulers since Shāh 'Abbās I in the 17th century considered the South Caucasus as part of their lands.<sup>15</sup> At the beginning of the 18th century, Yerevan was taken again by the Ottomans,<sup>16</sup> but Nādir Shāh and the first Qajar ruler Āghā Muḥammad Khān secured it together with the neighbouring regions once more to Iran. Subsequently, the advance of Russia into the Caucasus led to two wars with Iran in 1804–13 and 1826–28. In the peace treaty of Gulistān in 1813, Iran conceded supremacy over most parts of the South Caucasus to Russia. Yerevan remained a part of Qajar Iran, and even critical European observers were impressed by its flowering, but in the treaty of Turkmānchāy 1828 it also had to be conceded to Russia.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Bournoutian 1992: 58 on the number of Christian Armenians.

<sup>14</sup> The 16th to early 19th century is covered by the monograph of Akopyan 1971. A useful brief account of the history of Yerevan, which includes the Islamic period and mentions its monuments is Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 14–45. Akopyan 1971: 491–506 considers the period of Iranian and Turkish rule from the 15th to early 19th century as more or less destructive to the region. The term *Khanate* used to designate this and other Muslim ruled territory in the South Caucasus, in effect, appears to reflect the Russian and later Armenian historiographical perspective of a marginal or non-affiliation with Iran. The term is also used in modern Turkish historiography on Ottoman interests in the Caucasus.

<sup>15</sup> Akopyan 1971: 496 describes Yerevan as an administrative and political unit of Safavid Iran.

<sup>16</sup> In 1579–1604 and 1723–35 (see Faroghi 1995).

<sup>17</sup> Bournoutian 1992 (modified re-issue of idem 1982) provides the most detailed monograph on the early 19th century under the Qajar rule from Iran. He challenges the view of earlier Armenian authors by a positive judgement of the period and emphasises that Yerevan remained an integral part of Iran until the Russian conquest (see also idem 1976 on the last Qajar governor of Yerevan).

The known 17th-19th-century buildings by Muslim patrons in Yerevan were made predominantly of brick, which relates them to traditions of architecture in neighbouring Iran, while they appear to owe little to the heritage of Armenian stone architecture. Yet, neither stylistic characteristics, nor the relation to neighbouring regions, nor the context of the buildings have been analysed. As almost all of Islamic architecture in Yerevan is lost, the main source for it are descriptions and photographs in European travel literature.<sup>18</sup> So far no local Persian history from the Qajar period seems to be known.<sup>19</sup> Some works on the history of Yerevan include lists and a few short descriptions of Islamic buildings based mostly on 19th-century European sources.<sup>20</sup> Such studies and some travel accounts were used by the Italian art historian P. Cuneo (known for research on Armenian Christian architecture) for a recent article with a descriptive list of 17th-19th-century Islamic buildings in Yerevan, which focuses on the only two extant: the mid-18th-century main mosque called *Gök Jāmi'* and the late 19th-century *Masjid-i Nūr Zāl* (Cuneo 1995).

## 2 THE LOST MOSQUE(S) IN THE CITADEL OF YEREVAN

To these, I would like to add three mosques inside the former citadel of Yerevan (pls. 1-2), which are lost now. They have been mentioned

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Contemporary positive judgements by Europeans include Dupre 1819: II, 261-263 and Haxthausen 1854: 265-266. On the relations between Iran and Russia, see Kazemzadeh 1991: 317, 332-334, 337-338.

<sup>18</sup> This is not the place to provide an exhaustive list. For Yerevan, see the works cited in note 23; cf. also Dubois de Montpéroux 1893-43: ill. vol., pl. 24; Dieulofoy 1887: 19; Piemontese 1972: pl. 7; Cuneo 1995: pl. II; and in addition Cuneo 1995. For Eastern Armenia in general, see the bibliographies of the relevant summaries cited in note 11.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. the bibliography of Persian texts by Bournoutian 1992: 290-293 who does not use the two entries on Yerevan and its mosques in the geographical dictionary of the late Qajar chronicler Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (I'timād as-Salṭana, Ṣanī' ad-Daula) 1989 (1879): 181-187, 2002 (the first entry makes also use of European sources, such as the 17th-century French traveller J. Chardin). In January 2005, during a visit to the Archive of the Foreign Ministry in Tehran, I was told that it contains Qajar documents on mosques in Yerevan. I was unable to check the information but it appears likely that they relate to the period after the Russian conquest.

<sup>20</sup> Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 31-36. Bournoutian 1992: 205 with the names of mosques in Yerevan recorded in the mid-19th-century Russian census of then recently conquered Armenia.



only in passing and rather inadequately in the secondary literature, but two can be described sufficiently well from the sources. My main attention is on the mosque with a *madrasa* that can be compared to Iranian brick architecture and attributed to the 18th-19th-century early Qajar period (pls. 4-11). The second mosque will be described below for comparative purposes and identified as an 18th-century Ottoman stone building (pl. 12). A third mosque is attested by an engraving from 1796, mentioned below, which shows a further building with a minaret. This might be the mosque of Muḥammad Khān, just mentioned by name in the Russian mid-19th-century census (Bournoutian 1992: 205), and it could relate to the governor of that name in 1784/5-1804/5 (table 1). There was apparently no earlier large mosque inside the citadel.<sup>21</sup> Today all walls and buildings of the citadel have vanished and were grown over by modern Yerevan to an extent that even the former outline is scarcely reflected in the city map.<sup>22</sup>

While no plan recording the Qajar mosque in detail is known and so far no mention of it has been found in Persian sources, accounts by European travellers and historical photographs, including unpublished ones, allow the identification of the building and a reconstruction of its main features. One observer attributed it to the late 17th century, the Safavid period (Dieulofoy 1887: 21). But based on the chronology of the sources, on a remark relating it to the period of Fath 'Alī Shāh and on historical considerations, it is possible to narrow the date to the years 1814-26 under the Qajar governor Husayn Khān (Riffer 2006: 602-605). He was the most important figure in the early 19th-century history of Yerevan, and I will argue below that he is the most likely candidate for the unknown patron of the building.

## 2.A RECONSTRUCTION

SOURCES – As far as I know, the earliest and certainly most enthusiastic description of the mosque is by the French traveller Dubois de Montpéroux who visited Yerevan shortly after the Russian conquest

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<sup>21</sup> In the Safavid period, Chardin (1686-) 1811: II, 162-170, who was several times invited to the then existing palace inside the citadel in 1666 or later, does not mention a mosque, nor does a sketch plan of the citadel by Tavernier in 1632.

<sup>22</sup> The process is finely illustrated by the sequence of maps (1837 until the end of the 19th century) (Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1998: 45-48 and *passim*).

of 1827. In 1848 the Russian ethnographer N. V. Khanikoff mentions one of the inscriptions. Notes or short descriptions are found in reports by De Filippi who passed Yerevan with an Italian embassy in 1862, the French archaeologist J. Dieulafoy in 1887, and the British traveller H. F. B. Lynch in 1893/4. The most exhaustive description is by the German art historian F. Sarre in 1897 (see Dubois de Montpéreux 1839-43, vol 3: 334-336; Khanikoff 1862: 73; Piemontese 1972: 273 (De Filippi); Dieulafoy 1887: 21; Lynch 1901, I: 217; Sarre 1901-10: 52-53). Six tiles of the decoration which he gave to the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin, constitute by now the only remaining material evidence of the building (Sarre 1901: fig. 52).<sup>23</sup>

The earliest visual evidence are engravings in the books of Dubois de Montpéreux and Dieulafoy (pl. 4), which show a view of the courtyard towards the hall. They seem on the whole accurate although some details are misleading and must be checked against other evidence. The best photographs of the same view include one of the unpublished images by an otherwise unknown Mr. Shervinski in the archive of the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin (pl. 5) and one in the archive of the Armenian Donskoy Monastery' published but misattributed by Cuneo.<sup>24</sup> The most extensive photographic record is again by Sarre, some of whose hitherto unknown photos in the archive of the Museum for Islamic Art in Berlin are published here (pls. 7-11). The earliest photograph by Luigi Montabone from 1862 shows a distant view of the dome beyond the walls of the citadel.

*SITE AND IDENTIFICATION* – An idea of the site of the mosque can be gained from Russian maps of the citadel, drawn in 1827 and 1837, in the year of the conquest and ten years later (pls. 1-2b). In the early 19th century, the citadel was regarded as the strongest fortification in the South Caucasus. Its foundation dates back to the 16th century, ascribed either to the Safavids or the Ottomans.<sup>25</sup> Descriptions from

<sup>23</sup> A seventh tile (*ibid.*: fig. 56), now also in the possession of the Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin and on loan to the exhibition of the Museum für Volkskunde at Berlin-Dahlem, carries a single inscriptional cartouche, but it remains unclear whether it actually belonged to the building.

<sup>24</sup> Museum für Islamische Kunst in Berlin, archive no. 10687a; Donskoy Monastery', archive; Cuneo 1995: pl. II, wrongly identified as "Moschea Zal Khane".

<sup>25</sup> A general of the Safavid Shāh Ismā'īl (1501-24) is said to have founded a fortress on the site (Cuneo 1995: 75, 87, note 6, without giving the source). Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan, 1968: 18, 23 date the foundation of the citadel to the Ottomans in 1582-83, ordered by general Ferhad Paşa following the conquest by Sultan Murad III.

the 17th century relate it as a little city of its own, but no clear idea of the layout emerges.<sup>26</sup> In the two 19th-century maps mentioned, it occupied a large site in the South of the city proper and was protected by two rings of walls. At the Western side, above the steep ravine towards the river Īravān Chāyī was the palace of the Qajar governors, which had a splendid view of the countryside, as shown in an engraving from 1891, based on a photograph<sup>27</sup> (pl. 3).

As already said, there were mosques of different date in the citadel. Sometimes confused in the secondary literature, a careful reading of the traveller accounts shows that the early Qajar mosque under discussion was situated adjacent to the east side of the palace (pl. 2, no. 1).<sup>28</sup> In the map from 1837, which indicates the outline of individual buildings inside the citadel, this mosque can be identified with a courtyard-building (pl. 2, no. 2). The main axis is orientated to the South, which is the *qibla*-direction in Yerevan. At this side, a room is emphasised in the plan. It is a dome chamber as it can be related to the high dome seen in the engraving from 1891 (pl. 3). This confirms also the identification of the building with later 19th-century photographs, which use different names for it.

**ARCHITECTURE AND DECORATION** – The European visitors noted a lush tile decoration of the building (pls. 10-11) but remained almost silent on the architecture and the plan. These can be described from the engravings and the photographs, which are also a reliable source for the decoration. The images show a long-rectangular courtyard surrounded on three sides by single-storey arcades on pillars (pls. 4-5).<sup>29</sup> At the fourth side towards the *qibla*, a prayer hall with a richly decorated two-storey façade crowned by the view of the dome is rising. A cross-axial scheme articulates the plan of the courtyard. The arcades of the side wings form niches, the middle one is slightly emphasised by a higher cornice. In one photograph of the eastern wing (Cuneo 1995: pl. II), this middle arcade forms a passage, which

<sup>26</sup> Chardin, (1686-) 1811, II: 162-163 who visited the place in 1672-73. Other accounts from the 17th century include J. B. Tavernier in 1655 and Evliya Çelebi in 1647. Two 17th-century panoramic views of the city, including the citadel, are reprinted in Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: figs. 17, 18.

<sup>27</sup> Chantre 1891: 285; Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: fig. 29.

<sup>28</sup> For example, the sketch plan of the citadel by Bournoutian 1992: 41 does not locate the Iranian mosque; the localisation of alleged remains of it (*ibid.*: 43-44) is wrong.

<sup>29</sup> Relevant are the two photographs with a courtyard view cited in note 24. See also Dubois de Montpéroux 1839-43: ill. vol., pl. 24.

may have led to a side portal. The other niches were connected, according to the description of Dieulafoy (1887: 21),<sup>30</sup> to accommodation rooms of an integrated *madrassa*. The northern wing opposite the dome hall remains unclear from the photographs, but the Russian map from 1837 (pl. 2) shows it deeper than the side wings, indicating a layout different from them.<sup>31</sup> An area in the middle is emphasised suggesting a specific vaulted area, such as an *ayvān* or a portal building. The centre of the courtyard had a water basin as indicated by a sunken area in the photographs (Dieulafoy, *ibid.*; cf. also Dubois de Montpréaux 1839–43: ill. vol., pl. 24)

The main material used in the arcades, walls and vaults is brick. Stone, however, is used for the plinth of the rooms around the courtyard, and it might be the material of the profiled entablature and of the corbels of the drum below the dome. Using a standing person in a photograph as a rough scale (pl. 5) (Sarre 1901–10: fig. 53), the courtyard width can be estimated at 29 m. The length would be 43.50 m, based on the observation that in comparable contemporary buildings the relation of sides is 3 by 2.<sup>32</sup>

A notable characteristic of the building is the scheme of the domed hall. A monumental portal arcade flanked by half-round buttresses<sup>33</sup> is cutting through the middle of the double-storey façade. It leads into a high dome chamber adjoined by two lower rooms, each opening to another room at the side, which results in a plan of five rooms in one row (pls. 8–9). Interior height and decoration emphasise the three rooms in the middle. In the dome chamber, arcades and pendentifs carry a ring with a tile-inscription below the inner dome, which is accentuated by a pattern of coloured bricks. At the exterior, the dome shell on a drum pierced by eight windows is decorated with glazed bricks (pls. 6–7).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. “Ces galeries, sur lesquelles s’ouvrent les entrées d’un nombre de chambres égal à celui des arceaux extérieurs, forment le portique de la médresse”.

<sup>31</sup> This suggests also the phrasing by Dieulafoy 1887: 21: “Perpendiculairement [sic!] à la façade principale s’étendent, de chaque cote, des arcatures [...]”.

<sup>32</sup> E.g., in the Gök Jāmi’ in Yerevan and the Madrasa-i Sardār in Qazvīn mentioned below.

<sup>33</sup> The drawing in Dubois de Montpréaux 1839–43: ill. vol., fig. 24, which is the earliest image of the building known to me, shows these buttresses continued as pencil-shaped minarets. It is unclear whether the author describes reality or merely invents a fanciful reconstruction, which seems more likely (see Ritter 2006: 599–600).

The courtyard façade of the hall joins the different rooms behind a coherent structure of arched panels. Polychrome tile decoration with lush vegetal motifs covers the façade (pls. 6-7).

INSCRIPTIONS – On the façade, much prominence is given to inscriptions. Horizontal bands run on balustrades above the lower arcades and on a continuous cornice above the upper arcades. They consist of cartouches in two rows with Persian verses written in *nasta'liq* script from the *marthiya* Haft-band, a famous Shi'ite religious poem by the 17th-century poet Muhtasham-i Kāshānī.<sup>34</sup> The six tiles in the Museum of Islamic Art in Berlin, mentioned above, must come from a lower initial cartouche of the inscription, most probably from the balustrade to the left of the portal arcade, as the photographs by Sarre show the first cartouche missing there.

Another inscription in *thulth* was framing the portal bay and can be identified from photographs as *sūra* 62, verse 1-11 from the Qur'an (pl. 6). This and the first inscription can be expected to have included historical information at their ends, but these were already missing when the photographs were made.

A third inscription encircling the base of the interior dome proclaims *sūra* 76 (pl. 8). At the end, a calligrapher appears to have signed, but the name cannot be read with certainty: "*katabahu* (it has written) 'Abbās (? or 'Azīz ?)".

A rectangular wall panel surrounded by tile decoration above the *mihṛāb* is shown empty in a photograph of 1897 (pl. 11) and may have carried a stone tablet with a fourth inscription.

## 2.B COMPARATIVE STUDY: LOCAL AND IRANIAN SOURCES

The type of the building appears odd when compared with architecture in Iran. It belongs to the large class of courtyard mosques with a cross-axial scheme, but its plan and the way dome chamber and lateral rooms join in a broad hall, are clearly different from the four-*ayvān* courtyard mosque with dome chamber, such as the royal examples of Tehran and Qazvīn mentioned above, and from other known types<sup>35</sup> in Iran. We will look at Yerevan for models. On the

<sup>34</sup> Khanikoff 1862: 73 noted an inscription with this poem without stating the location. In the old photographs (pl. 7), the text can be identified in the inscription bands on the façade of the hall.

<sup>35</sup> For example, the Masjid and Madrasa-i Hājī Rajab 'Alī in Tehran (*Ganjnāma*, 1998a: 127; for the ground-plan, cf. Ritter 2005: pl. 195a).

other hand, stylistic characteristics of the architecture and of the decoration point to Iranian rather than local sources and will be examined subsequently.

**LOCAL PRECURSORS IN YEREVAN** – To begin with, it is worth mentioning that there is no formal relation to a second, earlier mosque in the citadel, which stood nearby within eyesight. It was mentioned by the British J. J. Morier (1818: 319) in 1814: “An exceedingly good mosque, built by the Turks, of brick and stone and crowned with cupolas covered with lead, stands conspicuous in the centre” (of the citadel). This must have been the mosque built, according to the tradition, in 1725 during the Ottoman interlude by the governor Recep Paşa.<sup>36</sup> No trace of it remains today, but following Morier’s description, it can be identified in an 18th-century engraving with a view of the citadel from the Northeast and in a 19th-century image showing a Russian siege of the citadel from the Southeast (pl. 11).<sup>37</sup> The building in the centre<sup>38</sup> is a cubical structure with a large central dome, four small corner domes or turrets, and a pencil-shaped minaret at one corner (pl. 12). This conforms to an 18th-century Ottoman mosque type, which was widely used in the Anatolian provinces, such as the İbrahim Paşa Camii at Nevşehir (1139/1726) (Goodwin 1971: 370, fig. 380). An example on smaller scale is found just 70 km from Yerevan at modern Doğubeyazıt, in Eastern Turkey, in the stone-built mosque of the palace completed in 1784 by İshak Paşa, local chief under Ottoman supremacy (pl. 13).<sup>39</sup> In Yerevan, according to Morier (1818: 319), the Ottoman mosque, although usable, was

<sup>36</sup> Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 32. Cf. Faroqhi 1995: 489a who erroneously equates the building described by Morier with our mosque mentioned by Dubois de Montpréaux (1839-43; vol. 3: 334-336).

<sup>37</sup> Engraving by G. Sergeyevich from 1796, reproduced in Bournoutian/Hewson 1998: 547. The image of the siege is reproduced in Nafisî 1965, II: 142-143, without stating attribution and whereabouts.

<sup>38</sup> The Russian map of 1827 (Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 25) notes a mosque approximately in the centre of the citadel.

<sup>39</sup> İshak Paşa belonged to the Çıldiroğlu family, which ruled over parts of Georgia in Ottoman name. The palace is believed to have been founded by his father, largely completed by himself in 1784 and supplemented by his son. An inscription on the portal to the private rooms is dated 1780 (Goodwin 1971: 405, 491, notes 73-74; cf. also the monograph by Bingöl 1982). Bellingeri/Curatola 1988 compare it with Armenian architecture in the region. On Armenian sources relating to İshak Paşa, see Rota 1993. Another branch of the family ruled the Ottoman *eyalet* of Çıldır (see Ursinus 2000).

completely ignored by the Qajar governors: "It is now only used by way of a storehouse".<sup>40</sup>

The main model for the early Qajar citadel mosque is met in the congregational mosque of Yerevan (pls. 15-19). This building, called by its local Turkish name *Gök Jāmi'* (Blue Mosque, from which Russian *Golubaya mečet'*) and in Persian *Masjid-i Jum'a* or *Jāmi'-i Shahr*, was finished in 1181/1767-8 by the local ruler Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān (1762-83) as evidenced by the inscriptions of the main *mīhrāb* (pl. 18). A substantial redecoration with tiles dated 1305/1887-8 suggests a still considerable Muslim community in Yerevan in the late 19th century, 60 years after the Russian conquest.<sup>41</sup> Today it remains the only extant building of the Iranian period in Yerevan.<sup>42</sup> The ground plan (pl. 19) and a courtyard view towards the hall (pl. 15) show a scheme already made familiar by the Qajar mosque in the citadel. In the prayer hall, we meet the same idea of a single row of three related rooms plus two side bays or end rooms. The large dome chamber opens by way of a portal arcade and is adjoined by two smaller rooms with lower domes or domical vaults. The side rooms are separated here, while at the citadel mosque they extend the interior space of the hall. The courtyard of 70 x 47 m shows a similar faint

<sup>40</sup> This second mosque was later turned into a Russian orthodox church while the mosque of our concern became an arsenal, according to Dubois de Montpéroux 1839-43, III: 334 and to Haxthausen 1856, I: 237. According to Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 32, a church was erected on the site of the mosque.

<sup>41</sup> Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān 1889 (1879): 2002; Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 31, fig. 22-24, 56; Piemontese 1972: 272, fig. 6; Cuneo 1995: 80-83; see an account of pictorial and written sources and a description in Ritter 2006: 364-365, notes 4-6. Various dates are given. According to Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 31, the building was started in 1760 and finished in 1764-68, while Bournoutian/Hewson 1998: 547b place it in 1776. No reference is made in the literature to the building inscriptions. Recently, the building and extant inscriptions have been recorded by Shīrāzī 2000, which was not available to me at the time of writing. For a recent description, see Huviyān 2007. In July 2009, I visited the mosque and found that the main *mīhrāb* is dated 1181 A.H. at the end of the stone inscription band encircling it, which provides a *terminus ante quem* for the building (pl. 18). A long tile inscription with three super-imposed tiers of writing around the portal façade of the prayer hall is lost today, but attested by a historic photograph in the mosque archive (pl. 17). It was later substituted by tile decoration with inscriptions dated 1305 A.H. (on these, see Cuneo 1995: 82, pl. IVc). In the Soviet period, the building was used as a museum of the city. It was extensively renovated in 1996-9.

<sup>42</sup> The only other mosque considered to be extant today, is a building called *Masjid-i Nūr Zāl* from 1889 during Russian rule (see Cuneo 1995: 83-84, pl. IVd.).

cross-axial scheme, which on the longer sides is only brought out by a higher cornice above the middle arcades. The other arcades open to accommodation rooms of an integrated *madrassa*. The north wing is different again, consisting of larger rectangular and square rooms and an *ayvān* in the middle. It gives an idea of how the north side of the citadel mosque, on which only scant evidence exists, could have been structured.

A similarity between the early Qajar mosque in the citadel and the old Gök Jāmi' was already noted by the traveller Dubois de Montpéroux (1839–43, III:346). In Yerevan, more mosques and *madrassas* that did not survive, some going back to the 17th century, have been reported by 19th-century observers to be similar to the scheme of the Gök Jāmi'.<sup>43</sup> One may conclude that by this time it represented a local type, which was taken up by the early 19th-century mosque in the citadel.<sup>44</sup>

STYLISTIC FEATURES RELATED TO TRADITIONS OF ARCHITECTURE IN IRAN – This new building, however, shows a clear stylistic orientation towards architectural traditions and contemporaneous forms in Iran. In the Gök Jāmi', the domed hall appears like a stack of heavy blocks with an uneasy awkward structure of the façade, which in fact mirrors closely the rooms behind. By contrast, the hall of the citadel mosque is characterised by an elegant continuous façade with a unifying double arcade structure. Although the building is smaller, the appearance is more impressively monumental.

Such façades with double arcades can be traced back to Timurid buildings and are common in Iranian architecture of the Safavid period. In both periods, the portal, made up by an *ayvān*, is higher than the sides of the façade.<sup>45</sup> Integrating it in a façade with continuous roofline becomes a feature only in early Qajar architecture, such as at the prayer hall in the Dār al-Ḥsān mosque and *madrassa* at Sanandaj, the renovated old Masjid-i Jāmi' at Qum, or the Madrasa-i Sardār at Qazvīn, discussed below.<sup>46</sup> Compared to the Gök Jāmi', the façade

<sup>43</sup> According to Lynch 1901, I: 214–215, the Shahr Jāmi', dating from the late Safavid period, and the mosque of Ḥājji Naṣrullāh Bayg were similar to the Gök Jāmi'. Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 32 list them as the same type.

<sup>44</sup> The origin of the scheme and its spread in the South Caucasus remain open (see Ritter 2006, 384–387).

<sup>45</sup> E.g., Masjid-i Gawhar Shād at Mashhad, Masjid-i Shāh and Madrasa-i Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn at Isfahan (Pope/Ackerman 1977: pls. 428–430; 464, 468; 497, 501A).

<sup>46</sup> For the building in Sanandaj, see *Ganjnāma* 2004b: fig. 179 and Ritter 2006:



of the citadel mosque is both more up-to-date to contemporaneous forms and closer to Iranian models. Similar evidence can be put forward for the tile decoration, although the quality of it, to judge from the surviving pieces, appears to be lower than in Central Iran.

At the same time, some features look old-fashioned or archaizing. The use of round buttresses in the façade is inspired by Timurid architecture, such as the minarets flanking the main *ayvān* of the Gawhar Shad mosque in Mashhad (Pope/Ackermann 1977: pl. 430). Later Safavid and early Qajar buildings renounce such sculptural elements, using minarets, if any, that start at the level of the cornice.<sup>47</sup> A framing inscription carried like a reversed U around the portal bay is rare in early 19th century architecture, but it is a regular feature in Safavid and Timurid religious buildings, while the detail of diagonally-placed letter endings in the corner recalls Timurid models.<sup>48</sup>

A RELATED BUILDING IN QAZVĪN – Surprisingly, considering the geographical distance, a contemporaneous building at Qazvīn in the North of Central Iran (pls. 20-22) can be related to the lost early Qajar mosque and its type at Yerevan. Moreover, the two patrons of the building can be associated with Yerevan, as we shall see below. Situated in the quarter Dīmāj, the building is called Madrasa-i Sardār and may have served also as a neighbourhood mosque.<sup>49</sup> It is dated by an inscription to 1231/1815, and another part of the decoration bears the date 1233/1817 (Ritter 2006: 756; Gulrīz 1958: 568-569).

Built around a courtyard of 33 x 22 m, the plan scheme (pl. 20) is distant from the standard type of contemporary early Qajar *madrasa* buildings. The main motif of the plan is a hall of three large bays over equal squares. It has a curious resemblance in a type of 13th-

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pl. 88a; for Qum, see *ibid.* pl. 84a.

<sup>47</sup> E.g., at Safavid Isfahan in the portal of the Masjid-i Shāh, and of the dome chamber there and in the Madrasa-i Shāh Sulṭān Ḥusayn (see Pope/Ackermann 1977: pls. 464, 465, 503).

<sup>48</sup> Such framing inscriptions are seen at the afore-mentioned portals of Safavid buildings in Isfahan and the portal of the *qibla-ayvān* in the Masjid-i Gawhar Shad at Mashhad. A unique example of the feature in the early Qajar period is the Masjid-i Sayyid at Isfahan; see *Ganjnāma* 1996b: fig. 86, 89. This placement of letter endings is seen in Timurid buildings, for example, in Mashhad, Ziyāratgāh and Ardabīl (see Golombek/Wilber 1988: pls. 245, 307, 328).

<sup>49</sup> For a more detailed analysis, see Ritter 2006: 371-382, 746-758, pls. 75-81, 153a, 156a, 185.

century *madrasas* in Syria and Iraq,<sup>50</sup> but in 18th–19th-century architecture it appears to be, more plausibly, a smaller variant of the type in Yerevan. The middle bay is emphasised as a dome chamber and opens at a large portal arcade. The exterior of the dome is low, without a drum but accentuated by a large crowning lantern (pl. 21).<sup>51</sup> The two adjacent rooms have domical vaults. The end rooms which were seen in the hall of the Gök Jāmi' in Yerevan and have been given less prominence in the subsequent citadel mosque, are here omitted altogether. The remaining three rooms are more intimately connected by wide arcades, forming a broad tripartite space (pl. 22). The plan of the north wing with a sequence of square and rectangular rooms (pl. 20) is close to the scheme of the Gök Jāmi' in Yerevan. It features an axial portal with a vestibule instead of an *ayvān*, similar to what can be reconstructed in the Qajar citadel mosque of Yerevan.

Different from both examples in Yerevan is the double-storey arrangement of three courtyard wings. This may be explained functionally by the need for a larger number of accommodation rooms, which are necessary for a *madrasa*, and aesthetically by a desire for façades of uniform height and appearance. As such, the arrangement follows the established tradition of a courtyard with two storied wings, stairs at the transverse axis, and an entrance way leading directly along the axis into the court, which is exemplified by Safavid *madrasas* in Isfahan and other places in Central Iran.<sup>52</sup>

A closer comparison of architectural and decorative features can argue for a direct relation with the contemporary citadel mosque in Yerevan. For example, the façade of the Madrasa-i Sardār uses also a double-storey arrangement with five axes, although here they do not relate to the number nor the arrangement of the rooms behind the façade. As in Yerevan, the Haft-band poem is used for a prominent tile inscription, in this case all around the courtyard façades.

<sup>50</sup> See examples in Ettinghausen/Grabar/Jenkins-Madina 2001: figs. 363, 365, 367, 368.

<sup>51</sup> Lanterns of different form are used to accentuate the exterior of the dome chamber in contemporary Qajar congregational mosques, such as the Masjid-i Shāh (Sultānī) in Burūjird and the Masjid-i Shāh in Simnān. The same type of a round lantern with a domed cap is used in the Masjid-i Shāh in Tehran; the dome itself has lost its original appearance (see Ritter 2006: pls. 6c, 7a, 99b, 117b).

<sup>52</sup> E.g., in Isfahan the *madrasas* Jadda-i Buzurg, Kāsagarān, and Nīmāvard (see Gaube/Wirth 1978: fig. 50 (plan), pls. 31B, 32A; for the plans of the two latter, see Ritter 2006: pls. 201 e–f).

Leaving the comparison at this point, we finally note again an old-fashioned flavour, since the standard type of early Qajar *madrasas* had developed in a different direction by that time. The latter is characterised by a wide courtyard with single-storey façades, a marked cross-axial scheme based on the idea of four *ayvāns* and a portal with two bent entrance ways—nothing of which is found here.

## 2.C THE PATRONS IN YEREVAN AND QAZVĪN

Looking at the background of patronage in both early Qajar buildings contributes to an explanation of their formal relations (**table 1**). The building inscription on the portal of the Madrasa-i Sardār at Qazvīn proclaims that it was ordered by the brothers Ḥusayn Khān and Ḥasan Khān who are called “generals (*sardār*)”—hence the name of the building—“commanders (*amīr*)”, and “chief army leaders (*si-pahsālār*)”.

From the biographical dictionary by Bāmdād, they can be identified as belonging to a branch of the Qajar tribe and as high-ranking members of the ruling family. Both are also known with “Muḥammad” as the first part of their names. In European sources, the first one is called Ḥusayn Qulī Khān. He had a long military and administrative career. From 1221/1806-7 until the Russian conquest, he was the governor of the province of Yerevan. His brother Ḥasan Khān, also called Khān Bābā Khān, acted as military deputy; he is explicitly mentioned in the Iranian-Russian treaty of Turkmanchāy. A sister of Ḥusayn Khān was married to the ruler Faṭḥ ‘Alī Shāh, a daughter to the heir-apparent ‘Abbās Mīrzā (Bāmdād 1968, I: 401-404; also 329-333; Bournoutian 1976; 1992; 1998, 2005; Bayānī 2009; cf. also Piemontese 1972: 281-282).

Ḥusayn is reported to have erected “in Qazvīn, Yerevan, and Karbalā charitable works, such as mosques and large water cisterns” (Bāmdād, *ibid.*: 404). Regarding Qazvīn, the statement is supported by the inscription of the Madrasa-i Sardār and by more evidence of patronage by the two brothers, including two water reservoirs (*āb-anbār*)—one in front of the *madrasa*, one at another place—and a bath (*ḥammām*), all of which were named using their title, *sardār*.<sup>53</sup> A document from Jumāda-I 1233/March 1818, published by ‘I. Shay-khulḥukamā’ī, in which the two brothers, *inter alia*, endowed a large

<sup>53</sup> Gulrīz 1958: 278-279, 288. The second *āb-anbār* still survives in the quarter Rāh-i Rayy, Mushīrī Alley, close to the Rāh-Āhan Street. Both are dated 1229/1813.

*madrasa* at the Shi'ite shrine of Karbalā in Iraq, built earlier in 1180/1766, lists property of two dozen villages in the province of Yerevan (“Chukhūr-i Sa’d-i Īravān”) by their Persian and Turkish names. In Tehran, they built a water channel (*qanāt*) and owned a garden (*bāgh*) in the area of modern Bahāristān (Kāzīrūnī 2000: 62–63, 64–71; on the garden in Tehran, see Sa’īdī Sīrjānī 1989: 480). Source information on their patronage of religious architecture in Yerevan is lacking so far.

The known inscriptions of the citadel mosque in Yerevan offer no information about the patron. It cannot entirely be ruled out that this was the mosque of Muḥammad Khān in the Russian census, which if referring to the governor of 1784/5–1804/5 would place it at the very beginning of the early Qajar period. This is improbable, because Morier in 1814 described only the Ottoman mosque; the showy dome and tilework of a Qajar mosque could have scarcely escaped him. Relating to it, the later 19th-century traveller Lynch (1901, I: 217) reports a tradition “that it was erected in the reign of Fath Ali Shah and that it was known as the Abbas Mirza Jami”. This would refer to ‘Abbās Mīrẓā, son and heir apparent of Fath ‘Alī Shāh and governor of Ādharbāyjān, who resided in Tabrīz. But it appears highly unlikely that he was the patron of the building, because even in his own seat and province he did not sponsor any notable religious building activity.<sup>54</sup> It is much more likely that Ḥusayn Khān, the incumbent governor of Yerevan in 1807–27, was responsible for the erection of the mosque sometime after 1814 and before the beginning of the second war with Russia in 1826. The similarities between the *madrasa* of Ḥusayn and Ḥasan Khān in Qazvīn and the mosque in Yerevan can support this attribution. Ḥusayn Khān is also credited with the renovation or re-erection of the governor’s palace immediately adjacent to the mosque in 1235/1819, and he may have built the palace garden across the river (Ritter 2006: 391–392). The palace showed inscriptions in praise of him and of Fath ‘Alī Shāh, and figural wall paintings depicting Ḥusayn, his brother and the shah.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The only known order by ‘Abbās Mīrẓā is the tiny Masjid-i Shāhzāda (or: Valī-‘ahd) at Tabrīz, which was begun before 1826–28 but was never finished or, according to another source, fell into ruin. His son Mahdī Qulī Mīrẓā continued or re-erected the building (see Kārang 1973: 352–356, Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (1879) 1989: 558).

<sup>55</sup> Khanikoff 1862: 73 reports the inscriptions and states that the palace was erected in 1235/1819. This would be a renovation if we believe the statements, made without giving evidence, by Arutyunyan/Asratyan/Melikyan 1968: 32 and

Following the hypothesis concerning the attribution of the mosque, it is worth examining Ḥusayn Khān's background. He is a main figure in Bournoutian's study on Yerevan, which depicts him as a typical "Qajar administrator" from a mobile ruling elite. Born around 1155/1742, he was in the entourage of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh when the latter was still governor in Fārs. In 1217/1802, he became the governor of Nīshāpur and Khurāsān. He was appointed governor of Yerevan in 1807 during the first war with Russia and held the office until Yerevan and Armenia fell to Russia. He even then did not fall into disgrace but continued service as governor in the provinces of Khurāsān und Bakhtiyār until his death in 1245/ 1829.

Looking further into the ancestry of Ḥusayn Khān, conflicting source information is found. According to Bāmdād's compilation from unnamed sources, Ḥusayn Khān and his brother were known with the *nisba* Īravānī, as well as Qazvīnī but were sons of a Muḥammad Khān Qājār-i Īravānī, who had ruled in Yerevan.<sup>56</sup> Bournoutian distinguishes him from the governor of the name, who ruled in Yerevan until 1804/5, without identifying the father.<sup>57</sup> Yet, from a comment on Yerevan's Gök Jāmi' in the late-Qajar geographical chronicle by I'timād as-Saṭṭana (1897), a slightly different name for the father and a more far-reaching evidence on the ancestry of the brothers can be deduced: "This mosque belongs to the buildings of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, governor of Yerevan, who is the father of Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān Sardār and the grandfather of Khān Bābā Khān" (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān 1989: 2002). The latter name, as we saw, refers to the brother of Ḥusayn Khān. Thus, according to this pas-

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by Bournoutian 1992: 44 that the palace was erected in 1798. On the paintings, see Dubois de Montpéroux 1839-43: ill. vol., pl. 25-26; cf. Adle 1996: 347-365.

<sup>56</sup> Bāmdād 1968, III: 271 states in his entry on "Muḥammad Khān Quvanlū Qājār-i Īravānī", that he was governor of Yerevan (again) from 1212/1797-8, but does not relate this person to the father of the two brothers, nor provides information on his ancestry.

<sup>57</sup> Bournoutian 1982: 14 comments on the father as "a certain Muḥammad Khān, who in the eighteenth century had acted as a commander in Erevan" and treats (ibid.: 10-12) Muḥammad Khān Qājār, the governor from the 18th century until 1804 as another person. Idem 1992: 14-15, 17 makes a similar statement but gives the governor's name as Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khān and 1805 as the end of his rule. Idem 1998: 530 and idem 2005 revert to Muḥammad Khān as the governor's name. The father cannot be Muḥammad Khān Qājār-i Īravānī who, being one of the assassins of Nadir Shah, was executed in 1747 in Mashhad (Perry 1979: 3-4), because then the son Ḥasan Khān (Khān Bābā Khān) would have reached an improbably high age at his death in 1855.

sage, the brothers would be sons of the governor Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān, who seems to be identical with Muḥammad Khān in 1784/5-1804/5, and the grandson of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, whom we already met as the ruler of Yerevan in 1762-83. This would be in line with traditions on ancestry in the modern *Sardārī-Iravānī* family,<sup>58</sup> but it needs further confirmation by historical research.

Matters are complicated by the endowment document from 1818 mentioned above. It reports an entirely different name for the father of the brothers and points to a family relationship in Qazvīn: "[...] the *sardārān* [...] Muḥammad Ḥusayn Khānā und Muḥammad Ḥasan Khānā [...] both sons (*khalafu* 'ṣ-ṣadiqān) of [...] Bahrām Qulī Bayg Qājār-i Qazvīn".<sup>59</sup> This evidence carries weight by virtue of the documentary character of the source and its date from the lifetime of the brothers. For the time being, the contradiction to the above statements, that Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān of Yerevan was the father, can be resolved only by speculation.

In any case, the conclusion can be drawn that Ḥusayn Khān was not just a typical "administrator" placed in Yerevan, but had a local Qajar ancestry there. If I'timād as-Saltāna's statement is correct, he, moreover, continued a tradition of rule by a Qajar clan or family in Yerevan reaching from 1827 back to 1762 at least. The governorship, then, would have been almost hereditary, although at some time it was also assigned to other persons.<sup>60</sup> It would explain why, in the

<sup>58</sup> Mr. Amir-Ali Sardari-Iravani (Cologne/Germany) kindly shared his knowledge on the family tradition, which is partly based on unpublished documents (emails 18.-21. 9. 2009). Accordingly, the line of governors in Yerevan would run as follows: 1762-83 Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān Qājār-i Iravānī, 1783-84 Ghulām 'Alī Khān (son of the former), 1785-1805 and 1806-7 Muḥammad Khān Qājār (brother of the former, son of Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān), replaced in 1805-6 by Mahdī Qulī Khān (who did not belong to the family), 1807-27 Ḥusayn Khān (son of Muḥammad Khān). A *vaqf*-document (no. 148 at the Sāzmān-i Awqāf in Teheran) dated 1864 mentions property in the bazaar of Mashhad donated by Ḥasan Khān Sardār-i Iravānī (to be identified with the brother of Ḥusayn Khān) to the mausoleum of his (their) father Muḥammad Khān Qājār-i Iravānī.

<sup>59</sup> Kāzīrūnī 2000: 66. The author has not commented on the contradiction to the other accounts of the two brothers' ancestry.

<sup>60</sup> The list of governors in Bournoutian (1998: 508-509, 521, 528, 530, 535), based on Russian and Armenian sources, runs as follows: 1762-83 Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān, 1784-1805 Muḥammad Khān Qājār with interruptions, 1796-7 'Alī Qulī Khān (brother of Āqā Muḥammad Khān), 1797 Ḥasan Khān of Mākū, 1805 Pīr Qulī Khān, 1805-6 Mahdī Qulī Khān, 1806-7 Aḥmad Khān Marāgha'i, 1807-27 Ḥusayn Qulī Khān Qājār. — In the 17th century, at least two Qajar governors are attested: the famous Amīr Gūna Khān Qājār until 1625, and subsequently his son

critical situation of Russian advance in the Caucasus, Ḥusayn Khān, who could be expected to rely on a local power base, was chosen as governor and remained in the position for an unusually long period.

<p><i>Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān</i> Governor of Yerevan 1762-83.</p> <p><i>Muḥammad (Ḥasan) Khān Qājār</i> Governor of Yerevan in 1784/5-1804/5 with interruptions.</p>		<p>Yerevan – Gök Jāmi'</p> <p>– palace in the citadel – a mosque in the citadel?</p>
<p>(Muḥammad) <i>Ḥusayn (Qulī) Khān</i> <i>Qājār</i> 1742-1829; governor of Yerevan in 1807- 27, later of Khurāsān and Bakhtiyār.</p>	<p>(Muḥammad) <i>Ḥasan</i> <i>Khān Qājār</i> d. 1855, called "Khān Bābā Khān"; military commander in Yerevan; later governor of Kirmān, Balūchistān, Yazd, and Bakhtiyār.</p>	<p>– palace in the citadel, re- erection or renovation – palace garden across the river – citadel, early Qajar mosque ("Abbās Mīrzā-mosque"), <i>Qazvīn</i> – Madrasa-i Sardār – Ābanbār in front of this madrasa – Hammām-i Sardār – Ābanbār-i Sardār <i>Tehran</i> – Qanāt-i Sardārī – Bāgh-i Sardār <i>Karbalā</i> – madrasa with mosque and library at the shrine</p>

**Table 1** Governors of Yerevan in the 18th-19th century and their building patronage: an attempt at relating information from inscriptions and sources.

Ṭahmāsp Qulī Khān Qājār, who surrendered Yerevan in 1635 to the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV (on both, see the annotated index in Muḥammad Ma'sūm b. Khvājagī Isfahānī (1643) 1978: 491; on the latter, see Rota 2008). According to Reid 1978: 130, 136, Qajar power in the South Caucasus starts with Shāhvirdī Sulṭān (d. 1570), whose descendants ruled in Yerevan, Ganja, and Qarābāgh until the 19th century. On the Ziyādughlū Qājārs in the South Caucasus, see Ebrahimnejad 1999: 159-160; on the branch at Ganja, the account in Muḥammad Ma'sūm b. Khvājagī Isfahānī (1643) 1978: 312-320. At Ganja, the main mosque built in the Safavid period was restored by Javād Khān Ziyādughlū Qājār in 1209/ 1794; it contained the tomb of Ḥasan 'Alī b. Kalb 'Alī Khān Qājār who died 1056/1646 (see Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (1897) 1989: 2036-2037).

## 3 CONCLUSION: LOCAL AND IRANIAN IDENTITY

A summary of the findings on the sources of the form of the mosque in the citadel in Yerevan and on the background of the patron to whom it can be attributed, allows some conclusions on how identities were constructed from traditions in this case.

From an art-historical point of view, one may conclude that in the early Qajar citadel mosque in Yerevan, as far as it could be reconstructed and analysed in comparison, a local architectural tradition and a local model are continued by shaping them on traditions in Qajar Iran. In the plan scheme, the building is modelled on the older main mosque in the city, the Gök Jāmi', which appears to represent a broader tradition of a type used in Yerevan. On a general plane, the idea of a courtyard mosque with a domed prayer hall is linked to traditions of architecture in Iran, but the building does not follow the contemporary standard types of royal Qajar patronage, i.e., the courtyard mosque with four *ayvāns* and the *madrassa* with a four *ayvān*-scheme. However, the style of the architectural form and of the decoration relates most visibly to models in Iran and is linked to the architectural traditions in contemporary royal Qajar buildings. This relation to central Iran is stronger than in the local model, the Gök Jāmi', which appears rather provincial when compared to the new mosque in the citadel with its rich polychrome tile work and inscription bands with Qur'anic Arabic and Persian poetry. On the other hand, the local Ottoman precursor in the citadel—also lost now but briefly reconstructed here—was not deemed relevant as a model, although it stood in the immediate neighbourhood.

Such a synthesis differs from what has been observed in the central regions of 18th-19th-century Iran, where mosque and *madrassa*-buildings of patrons from the Qajar ruling elite refer rarely and only with isolated features to local models. This might be an argument for an early date and the period of the governor Muḥammad Khān (1784/5-1804/5). But the explicit reference to a local precursor and the continuity to local tradition would equally well make sense in view of the suggestion that the governor Ḥusayn Khān (1807-27) was the patron. For him, the reference to the Gök Jāmi' created an identity within the political tradition of local power. If Ḥusayn Khān had a family relationship to earlier governors of Yerevan, that is, if he was the grandson of the patron of the Gök Jāmi', as one source reference would imply, the choice of the local model would also relate to a personal and family identity. However, it remains open how to



reconcile the hypothesis with a contemporaneous document stating a family relationship to Qazvin.

The display of Iranian traditions, on the other hand, can reflect that the patron, unlike earlier governors of Yerevan, was much more integrated into the Qajar elite, which now ruled Iran and had served in other Iranian provinces as well. Much clearer than in the local precursor, a strong Iranian component is present in the architectural and decorative style. One may suppose that such a visual statement would build also an identity of the community in Yerevan as a collective group. It is addressed by the building and its inscriptions that display religious, cultural and linguistic traditions related to Iran.

The fact that in the building of the early 19th century Iranian tradition is more apparent than in the main mosque of the 18th century can be explained by the changed situation and the necessity for a new visual definition. The Qajar mosque was ordered, when Iran had lost the first war against Russia and large territories in the South Caucasus, when a new governor had been appointed, and when the province had become the forefront against further Russian expansion. The building, by emphasising continuity to both local past and Iranian tradition, may be not just an isolated case of a "codification of memory" in a period of change (Assmann 1992: 278), but an example of this phenomenon as a main principle in 18th-19th century architecture in Iran.

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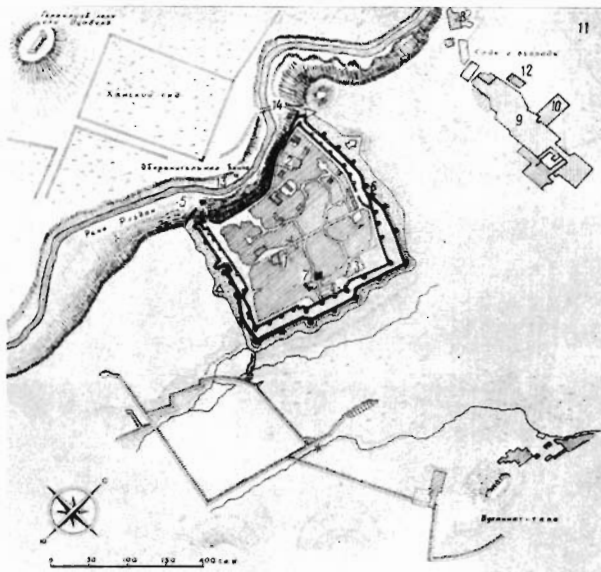
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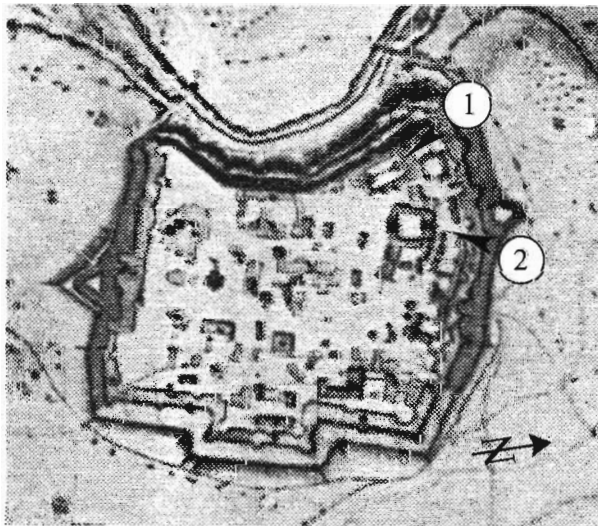
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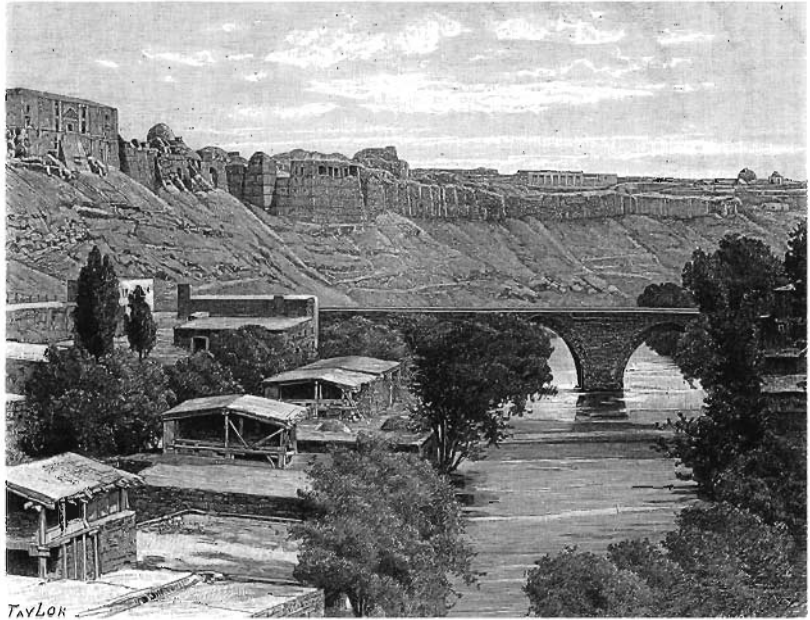


1. Yerevan: citadel, centre of the city (upper right corner), Yerevan river (Īravān Chāyī) and gardens. Russian map of 1827. After Arutyunyan/Asratyan/ Melikyan, 1968: 25.

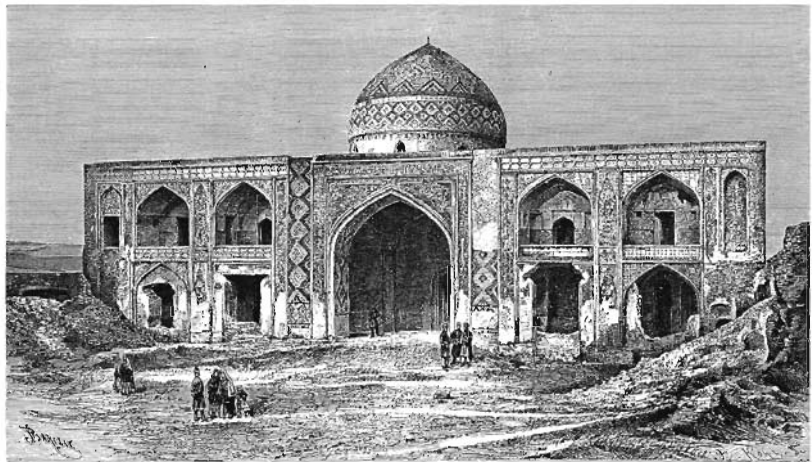


2. Yerevan, plan of the citadel with individual buildings. Detail from the Russian map of 1837. Enlarged from *ibid.*: 45 with numbers and arrows added: (1) the palace of the Qajar governors, (2) the courtyard building, here identified as the early Qajar mosque.

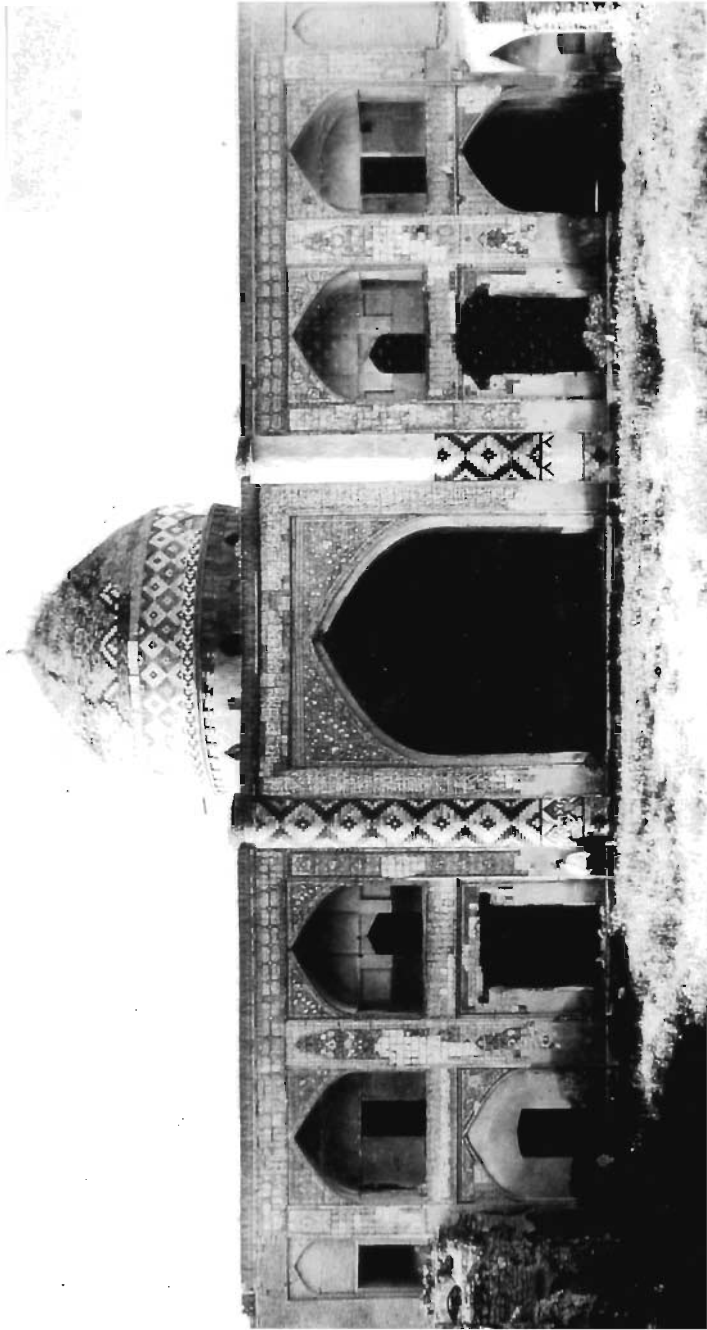




3. Yerevan, the citadel above the river, view looking South. Citadel building at the left identified as a part of the palace. Note the large dome to the right of it. Engraving after a photograph. After Chantré 1891: 285.



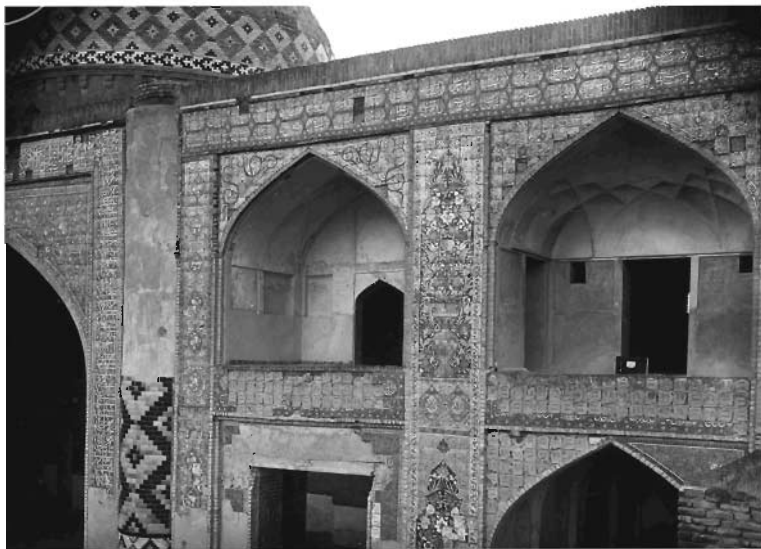
4. Yerevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period. Engraving, probably after a photograph. After Dieulafoy 1887: 21.



5 Erevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period. Courtyard, view of the prayer hall and the first arcades of the side wings. Photograph Shervinski, end of 19<sup>th</sup> century; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, archive no. 10687a.



6. Portal. Unpublished photograph by Shervinski, end of 19<sup>th</sup> century; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, archive no. 10687b.



7. Right side. Photograph F. Sarre 1897; *ibid.*, archive pl. 9095. Yerevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period. Façade of the prayer hall.

Yerevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period.  
Façade of the prayer hall.



8 Dome chamber, view towards the adjoining Eastern rooms. Photo F. Sarre 1897; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz, archive pl. 9096.

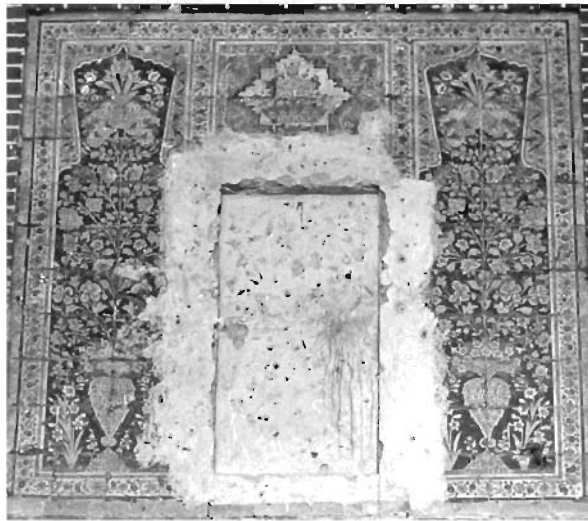


9 Western lateral room, view towards the adjoining end room. Photo F. Sarre 1897; ibid., archive pl. 9096.

Yerevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period  
Interior of the prayer hall.



10. Tile decoration, façade. Detail from pl. 7.

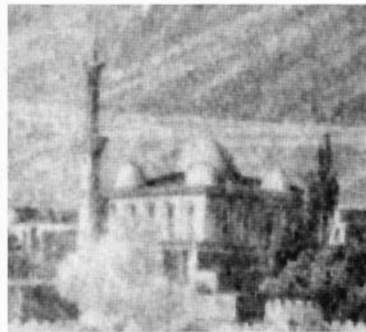


11. Tile decoration, dome chamber, panel over the mihrab. Detail from a photograph by F. Sarre 1897; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, archive pl. 9097.

Yerevan, mosque in the citadel, here attributed to the early Qajar period.



12. A Russian siege of the citadel of Yerevan, depicted in a 19<sup>th</sup> century image. After Nafisi, 1965: II, 142-143, who does not state attribution and whereabouts.



13. Detail from pl. 12, showing a mosque building, here attributed to the Ottoman governor Recep Paşa in 1725.



14. Doğubeyazıt (Turkey), mosque of the palace of İshak Paşa, completed in 1784. Photograph M. Ritter 1987.

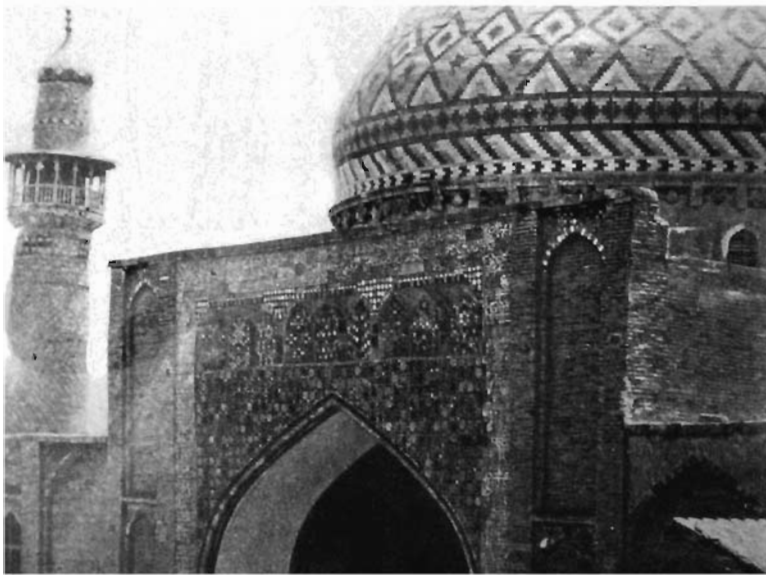


15. Courtyard and prayer hall (tile decoration of the facade dated 1887). Photograph F. Sarre 1897; Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, archive pl. 9089.



16. Courtyard and Northern wing. Photograph F. Sarre 1897; *ibid.*, archive pl. 9092.

Yerevan, Gök Jāmi'.

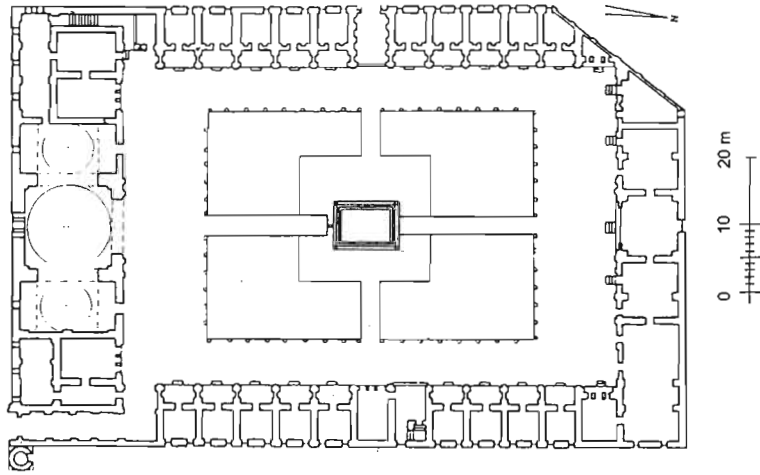


17. The portal of the prayer hall, the dome and the minaret. Note the original decoration of the façade, different from the later decoration in pl. 13, with a framing inscription. Detail from a photograph before 1887; mosque archive.



18. Stone inscription around the main mihrab in the prayer hall, end with date 1181/1767-68. Photograph M. Ritter 2009.





19 (right) Yerevan, Gök Jāmi' (after Arutyunyan A. 1968: fig. 22).

20 (above) Qazvīn, Madrasa-i Sardār (after Archive Mi' nārī, Danishgāh-i Shāhīd Bihištī, Teheran).

Ground plans approximately same scale.



21. Courtyard and prayer hall. Photograph M. Ritter 1997.



22. Dome chamber and side room, looking Southeast.  
Photograph M. Ritter 1997.

Qazvīn, Madrasa-i Sardār, dated 1231-3/1815-17.

## CORRIGENDA

Some of the following corrections have been submitted timely in the proof stage but were not realized. Most, however, relate to mistaken editors' changes made without notifying the author.

- p. 239, note, line 2: ~~organised by the~~ organised by the journal
- p. 243, note 10, last sentence (added by editors): ~~Father Prof. Zekiyan~~ Zekiyan 2008 ... ~~see Zekiyan 2008.~~
- p. 256, paragraph 2, line 10, editors' typo: (~~Riffer 2006:~~ (Ritter 2006:
- p. 247, paragraph 1, line 11, editors' typo: ~~fig 52~~ fig. 57
- p. 247, end of paragr. 2, reference omitted by editors: (Piemontese 1972, pl. 7).
- p. 249, note 33, reference at the end, add: , pl. 13a.
- p. 253, note 45, editors' omission: ~~Pope/Ackerman—1977~~ Pope/Ackermann (eds.) (1938-39) 1977
- p. 254, paragr. 1, end, reference omitted by editors: *ibid.*: 368-371, 603.
- p. 254, note 48, line 3: ~~Mashhad~~ Mashhad (*ibid.*: pls. 164, 504, 430)
- p. 256, paragr. 3, after line 9, sentence omitted by editors: Their title *sardār* denotes not only a military rank but also the rulers of Yerevan.
- p. 258, paragr. 2, line 14: ~~1989~~ (1879) 1989
- p. 259, paragr. 1: ~~and the grandson~~ and grandsons
- p. 259, paragr. 2, line 8: ~~For the time being~~ Unless there were two pairs of brothers Ḥusayn and Ḥasan with the title *sardār*, in Qazvīn and in Yerevan,
- p. 259, note 58, line 1: (~~Cologne/~~ (Ludwigsburg/
- p. 271: photo intended to be large and placed with lower margin parallel to the long side of the page (here corrected).
- p. 278: two plans intended to be the same scale and placed like photo on p. 271 (here corrected).